

Message Text

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60

ACTION ACDA-19

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INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

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C O N F I D E N T I A L VIENNA 9828

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

AGSJC PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: PLENARY SESSION,
NOVEMBER 28, 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: PLENARY SESSION OF NOVEMBER 28,
1973 HEARD STATEMENTS FROM SOVIET REP KHLESTOV (INFORMAL
TRANSLATION OF TEXT SEPTTEL) AND NETHERLANDS REP
QUARLES (TEXT IN VIENNA 9787). SOVIET STATEMENT WAS
MODERATE IN TONE, AND LAID EMPHASIS ON THREE BASIC
ELEMENTS OF PACT PROPOSAL: INCLUSION OF GROUND, AIR,
AND NUCLEAR FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN REDUCTIONS;
SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTION OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS; AND REDUCTION BY EQUAL PER-
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CENTAGES PRECEDED BY A REDUCTION OF EQUAL QUANTITIES.

NETHERLANDS STATEMENT WAS A REITEATION AND EXPANSION OF ARGUMENTS FOR ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIET STATEMENT BEGAN BY SAYING THAT IT WOULD FOCUS UPON THREE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT TABLED BY THE SOCIALIST PARTICIPANTS ON NOV 8. THE FIRST OF THESE WAS THAT SINCE THE FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA INCLUDE FOREIGN AND NATIONAL GROUND, AIR, AND NUCLEAR FORCES, THEY FORMED A SINGLE MILITARY COMPLEX, AND INTERACT CLOSELY SO THAT ONE COULD NOT EVALUATE OR REDUCE ANY OF THEM IN ISOLATION. KHLESTOV WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE PRESENT BALANCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE HAD TAKEN SHAPE HISTORICALLY OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, IN WHICH EACH SIDE HAD ASSESSED THE REQUIREMENTS OF ITS SECURITY. THIS HAD PRODUCED A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATO AND PACT FORCES WHICH PRESERVED SECURITY FOR BOTH SIDES. HE QUOTED STATEMENTS BY MCNAMARA, ROGERS, RUSH, SCHLESINGER, ANF FRG DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER TO THE EFFECT THAT A BALANCE NOW EXISTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THEREFORE, THERE COULD BE REDUCTIONS OF ALL TYPES OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AS LONG AS THE EXISTING RELATIONSHIP WAS NOT DISTURBED. KHLESTOV CONTINUED THAT THE WESTERN DESIRE TO DISCUSS GROUND FORCES ONLY AND TO HAVE THE EAST REDUCE MORE, ON THE BASIS OF SO-CALLED "DISPARITIES," WAS NOT REALISTIC. INDEED, AIR FORCES AND OTHER FORCE ELEMENTS EQUIPPED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS WERE THE "MAIN STRIKE MEANS" OF CONTEMPORARY FORCES, AND PRESENTED THE GREATEST DANGER TO CENTRAL EUROPEAN POPULATIONS. FURTHERMORE, PRESERVING THE POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE BUILD-UPS IN AIR FORCES AND UNITS ARMED WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS COULD GIVE IMPETUS TO AN ARMS RACE.

3. SECOND MAIN SOVIET POINT WAS THAT THERE SHOULD BE SIMULTANEOUS REDUCTIONS OF FOREIGN AND NATIONAL FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. KHLESTOV CITED A STATMENT BY RUSH TO THE EFFECT THAT US ALLIES SUPPLY 25 OF 29 OF NATO'S DIVISIONS, AND NOTED THAT FRG FORCES COMPRISE ABOUT HALF OF WESTERN FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA. THERE WAS NO BASIS FOR LEAVING OUT OR POSTPONING INDEFINITELY THE REDUCTIONS OF

NATO'S MOST NUMEROUS COMPONENT. FURTHERMORE, THE PACT APPROACH
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WOULD END IMMEDIATELY THE GROWTH OF TROOPS AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND WOULD LEAD TO REDUCTIONS IN THE BURDEN OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

4. THIRD POINT, WHICH WAS DESIRABILITY OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS PRECEDED BY A REDUCTION OF EQUAL QUANTITIES, RECEIVED ALMOST NO ARGUMENTATION.

5. KHLESTOV CONCLUDED BY OBSERVING THAT EVEN A BRIEF GLANCE AT THE WESTERN PROPOSALS SHOWED THAT THEY WERE BASED UPON UNACCEPTABLE CONCEPTS DIRECTED AT SEEKING ONE-SIDED MILITARY ADVANTAGES. AGREEMENT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE IF THE WEST IGNORED THE INTERESTS OF ALL AND FAILED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE CONCEPTS IN THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.

6. NEXT PLENARY WAS SET FOR DECEMBER 5 AT 10:30 A.M.
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